National College of Art and Design

Faculty of Fine Art Print

"The great Book of Albrecht Durer – expression of the apocalyptic fears and millennial hopes of Reformation Europe"

by Naomi Sex

Submitted to the Faculty of History of Art and Complementary Studies in the Candidacy for the Degree of Bachelor of Fine Art - Print

1999

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my tutor, Niamh O Sullivan for her guidance and understanding. I would also like to thank the library staff and a special word of thanks to Susan Byrne who's special help was invaluable.

Table of Contents

List of Plates

Introduction

Albrecht Durer's series of woodcuts the Apocalypse, was a direct visual account of The Book Of Revelations. This thesis explores Durer's intense religious interest and his inventive use of the medium of woodcut. The subject matter is taken from the scriptures and steeped in the past, yet is complemented by the artists unique draughtsmanship which brought about innovations in the art of woodcut.

In part 1, the social, political and religious environment prior to Durer and during his life is discussed in relation to specific milestones in the Middle Ages. Social fears of Apocalyptic disaster because of political and religious unrest, are taken into account, which, along with Durer's religious interest in depicting biblical scenes, influenced his choice of the Apocalypse as a subject matter.

Durer used The Book Of Revelations as the primary source for his Apocalypse. Because of this; part 2 includes an in-depth examination of three woodcuts in his series, in relation to the primary text (The Book of Revelations). This analysis is relevant to show how the artist made this study himself, thus laying the foundations on which he exercised his artistic originality, and thus broke new ground with this ancient material. Part 2 concludes with an overview of Durer's artistic and technical skill, which changed the face of fifteenth century contemporary woodcut.

PART 1

Religious, social and political influences on Durer's Apocalypse

Durer was a devout Catholic and remained loyal to the church during the great religious upheavals of his time. "If we peer into the depths of Durer's soul, we find that the noblest and most essential element in his character was the religious urge.".(Waetzolt p.15 1880) This urge was the driving force for his tremendous interest in portraying the life of Jesus and the rich images the bible evoked. "This religious foundation is, however, tempered by Durer's subjection to the spirit of the time, by the fact that he belonged to the closing period of the middle ages."(Waetzolt p.15 1880)

In general, ordinary people at that time believed the end of the world was imminent. These were God fearing people who had seen disease, war, famine and poverty engulf Europe in the decades and even centuries prior to Dürer's immediate lifetime.

> During the last decades of the fifteenth century, the horsemen of the Apocalypse,- famine, war and the plague- rode through the German lands. Bad harvests and consequent famine gave rise to the formation in Alsace of the 'Bundschuh', the first peasant conspiracy on a large scale. In 1499 the Swiss war devastated parts of Swabia and Tyrol. (Waetzoltp.35 1880)

Dürer used these preoccupations to give urgent immediacy to his Apocalypse series of prints.These were bound in book form,and proved irresistible to a generation convinced that every image mirrored the upheavals in their own social and political situation. Feudalism was established in Europe from the early Middle Ages and remained the principal social pattern until the early fifteenth century. It was a pyramid-like structure

with the king at the top who allocated large tracts of land to his subjects, the Barons or feudal lords. In turn, they ran their land with the close - knit brotherhood of soldiers or knights followed in descending tiers of importance by the craftsmen, the peasants and finally the serfs (who formed the large labour force subject to their lord).Feudalisim was defined by M. Bloch thus,

> A subject peasantry… widespread use of the service tenement (i.e. the fief) instead of salary Supremacy of a class of specialised warriors: ties of obedience and protection which bind man to man, which in the warrior class, assume the distinctive form called the Vassalage. (M.Bloch p.16 1961)

Centuries of feudalism provided stability for the vast majority of people. In war times the feudal castles provided protection. Agricultural methods based on co-operation, and improved crops resulted in a healthy food supply for families consisting of large numbers of children. Powerful church authority promoted peace and prosperity. Standards of living and hygiene improved. The living quarters of humans and animals began to be separated. Personal washing, and washing of clothing became widespread. Primitive lavatories were developed. Ditches were dug to remove waste. These factors promoted a better quality of life. Because the feudal system involved splitting up an area or Barony, central government was weak . "The transfer of land and power led to the kingdom being broken up into a large number of independent units, transferring the centre of social and economic power more precisely to the Baron's residence" .(Lodge p12 1981)

When, in the twelfth century, the Scandinavian warriors known as "The North Men" left their native lands of Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland to search for adventure and glory, their attacks weakened this feudal- based European Empire. Coastal areas of Europe suffered the worse attacks.

Not only in Dürer's time did people believe the world was on the brink of apocalyptic disaster. In the year 999 people believed in the realisation of the prophecy contained in the Book of Revelations, "1000 and no more than 1000" (Lodge p20 1981) meaning that the following year would be the end of things, as they knew it. Churchs and Cathedrals were built in anticipation of the Last Judgement , and preachers and prophets spoke of it. Although the year 1000 passed uneventfully however, the fear of dramatic intervention by God in judgement on a sinful world persisted throughout the Middle Ages.

Feudal lords now preferred to deal with money instead of the barter system. The peasants and craftsmen preferred this method also. " By selling at the market any produce the family did not need, they obtained money to pay rent for their farm and no longer had any other obligations to the lord."(Lodge p.22 1981) Merchants bought and sold produce for their own profit, which ordinary people resented, but deemed necessary in order to procure exotic foreign goods. These financial developments led to the emergence of banks and other commercial organisations. "A number of technological innovations at this time were particularly relevant to agriculture and played an important part in the general increase in production."(Lodge p.22 1981)A new plough was developed, for example, which better-suited heavy northern soils there, by improving the actual quality of the soil. Communal ploughing between tenants increased crop yield. Oxen had been the traditional plough animals but now with the invention of the 'Necklace Halter', the horse could be harnessed and superior muscle power exploited. Further refinement allowed side by side ploughing this concentrating the horsepower. The concept of running water as an energy source became a reality. A large wheel was placed into a strong current, which, in turn, could be powered to grind corn. This removed the laborious task of hand grinding. "A hydraulic wheel and a cam shaft could

work huge bellows in a foundry. These blew air into the furnace and raised the temperature high enough to fuse metals, which previously had been impossible to melt"(Lodge p.23 1981)

All these developments had far - reaching effects on social, and ultimately, cultural life. Literacy was traditionally the preserve of the wealthy and privileged classes until now. Book reading was considered an unnecessary luxury for the lower class as books were made from parchment and were hand-written by monks, which made them extremely expensive. New technology led to the cheaper production of paper. What were known as "Bibles for the poor" went into production. . "In 1438 the German metal worker Johannes Gutenburg invented typecasting, a method of making moveable type single letters on individual blocks –out of molten metal."(Lodge p.30 1981) The original invention of woodprinting by the Chinese gave rise to the illustration of biblical scenes. Dürer took full advantage of this invention (which was known as Xylography) in the making of his Apocalypse series. It was finally possible for the printed page to be put into the hands of men and women of all classes of society. Ordinary people yearned for an appreciation of the written word. Given this new potential, the church began to address the problem of illiteracy as it sought to convey knowledge and eventually do so on a widespread scale.

> Saint Benedict counselled his monks to learn how to read and write, to keep a library in the monastery and add to it by copying out ancient manuscripts, and also to open an elementary school for anyone to attend when ever it was possible, thanks to people like him this philosophy multiplied in dozens of churches and monasteries in the following centuries and helped to spread culture.(Lodge p.25 1981)

The invention of numbers and the digit zero proved to be a quantum leap in the world of commerce. Numeracy also helped in the development of chemistry. In the years of scientific exploration, alchemy preoccupied the minds of the Middle Ages. Unsuccessful in their attempts to transform base metal into gold, nevertheless their efforts were not without result. They discovered the elements of the periodic table, which remains the foundation of chemistry today. The Chinese invented gun powder as a means of making fireworks and this was eagerly seized upon by the western world. This assisted in the improvement of war machines by allowing for the introduction of artillery – including cannons and guns. Wars were not the only source of injury and death. Imperfect understanding of contagious diseases and primitive medicine made every fever a source of anxiety, and death was a frequent visitor in many homes.

Dürer wrote of syphilis, or the "French disease", which was rampant in Europe in the fifteenth century, asserting that"I know nothing that I fear more (than syphilis) for almost everyone has it. It eats some of them away to such an extent that they die of it"(Waetzolt p.36 1880)But Europe prior to Dürer's era was subject to the largest epidemic killer disease of all time. This was the Black Death which arrived in Europe in 1317. It spread slowly and insidiously. People were terrified and helpless. No cure or treatment was available. There were three types of plague. (A) Bubonic Plague – which was slightly weaker than the other two and killed 7 out of 10 of its victims. (B) Pneumonic Plague – which attacked the lungs and killed its victims in two days. (C) Septicacnuic Plague – which killed in a few hours. The symptoms, which were horrific, included the emergence of tumours the size of eggs appearing in the groin and armpit area, these would spread and then black spots would appear on the arms and thighs of the victim. It was a nightmare epidemic, which seemed to fulfil all the terrifying portents of the Apocalypse. The disease was carried by a flea which lived on the black

rat imported by sailors from the East in the hulls of their ships. The Bacillus filled the stomach of the flea making it especially hungry. The rats became infected and died and when this happened the fleas passed on to human hosts. By coughing, the bacilli was spread. An example of a prosperous town devastated by the wrath of the plague was Orvieto, a busy European town on the trade route near Rome. It was a healthy and prosperous town until 1347. Bad weather destroyed the crops and the town began to suffer badly, poverty grew and famine set in. When a new leader promised land and money to Orvieto, the people agreed to let him rule them. He brought all he had promised and more – the Plague. One third of the town fell victim to the Black Death.

The poor as usual were hit hardest, the wealthy upper classes often fled to the countryside. Boccaccio, an Italian author during this time penned the Decameron in which there is a woodprint depicting a scene which shows the wealthy living in the countryside while the plague runs riot among the poor in Florence. Many of them believed that if they ate well and took good care of themselves they could avoid it. Others believed the exact opposite, and lived each day as if it were their last. Different rumours circulated on the source of the Black Death. Some thought that it had been sent by God to punish people for their sins. "This idea led some people to do extraordinary things. There were religious fanatics who believed that by mortifying their bodies they could drive away the devil and wash away their sins".(Turner p.39 1978) Another group believed that the Jews had caused the Plague. They were already unpopular and persecuted in Europe. When a woodprint in the Nuremberg Chronicle in 1493 showed the Jews being burnt alive at Cologne in Germany, vigilante groups took it upon themselves to exterminate the Jews. It was the worst massacre of Jews until the Holocaust of Nazi Germany. For decades after the 'Black Death', whole populations in the countries effected harboured a pessimistic view of life. This depressing outlook

permeated many artist's work. "Many painters and writers did not try to hide their fears of pessimism, a large number of pictures and writings later than the 1300s and 1400s have to do with death and hell torture, witchcraft and damnation."(Turner p.42 1978) An example of this is a woodcut made in 1493 called The Dance of the Dead by Michael Wolgemut which was published in the Nuremburg Chronicle.(see fig 1).

(fig 1-1) Dance of the Dead.

It contains four skeletons in varying stages of gruesome decomposition dancing about what appears to be a mass grave.

Following on from the plague came revolts, uprisings and rebellions. Much of this unrest came from the artisan andthe craftsmen classes. Following the death of so many during the plague, demand rose for skilled men. Governments tried to limit this by imposing laws designed to freeze wages. Landlords would break this law and raise

wages to entice the now scarce labourers. "The peasant's anger over keeping wages down may have been the reason why they rebelled."(Turner p.44 1978) This social unrest led to peasant uprisings and the 'wars' that Durer and his generation felt would follow on the 'plagues' already witnessed in true apocalyptic fashion. This collective feeling of unrest was a leading social factor in Durer's decision to depict his Apocalypse.

Changes now took place in trade and commerce that allowed for improved standards of living for a much greater number of people, and which greatly enlarged the scale and scope for the business of the artists to flourish. Improvements in roads and trade routes made it possible for merchants to travel great distances by more rapid means. Trade benefited greatly by the improvements in shipbuilding and the invention of the compass. It was now possible to travel to eastern countries to acquire valuable commodities previously unthought of, such as spices. Trade boomed. These improvements also made the feudal castles lose their importance and merchant cities began to grow in power. Out of the feudal hierarchical class structure came a new power entity-the middle class.

This emerging 'Bourgeoisie' wanted a voice on how they were ruled, and consequently assemblies and parliaments were formed. Self-governments began in places where the feudal lord's reign was not as harsh. Rules and laws were established for the governing of cities. Elections were held to vote in representatives who would rule for a certain number of months. A new emancipation developed in all areas of society even the ultra-conservative guilds. Guilds were organised by tradeworkers to protect against external competition and guarantee a good standard of work.

"The goldsmiths of Strasbourg, Cologne, Nuremberg and Augsburg were not only highly respected craftsmen whose fame was carried far beyond the walls of the cities,

but as their numbers steadily increased, they also formed a powerful and perfectly organised guild."(Waetzolt p.12 1880) Durer's father was an influential goldsmith of this period.

He had enjoyed positions of trust in the guild and in local government. From 1482 to 1488 he was a 'juror' of the guild and, in 1482 he was appointed street captain.

Communities, known as 'communes' were formed. These were a "decisive step forward towards the formation of a more modern social, and political system." (Lodge p.18 1981)Conflicts would break out between the richest and most influential citizens in the commune. This social turbulence introduced ways of thinking and attitudes that differed from feudal times. In Germany, free towns formed ten-commune groups known the as 'Decapole'. Typically, they would be centred around a cathedral which had been financed by the citizens. These became showpieces for the work of artists and craftsmen. Wealthy families within the commune had the disposable income necessary for the expression of their cultural aspirations. Paintings and sculptures, for example, became highly desirable. The middle class could now offer artists like Durer patronage, which they would formerly have had to seek from the aristocracy. A good example of the unpredictability of relying on aristocratic patronage can be seen from Durer's experience with Lady Margaret, Governor of the Netherlands, and daughter of the emperor Maximilian 1. Durer's diary informs us that he presented Lady Margaret with a portrait of her father . "But as she had such dislike for it ,I took it away."(Panofsky p.152 1968) This was a serious disappointment to Durer, as he was hoping that his gift would pave the way to further work, and the reciprocal gift of a book of drawings by Jacopo de Barboni which he coveted.

To discuss Durer's series the Apocalypse it is necessary to understand the religious background from which his art arose. The importance of religion permeated every

aspect of daily life. In terms of art, religious imagery was immediately comprehensible to its audience. Durer's work came at a critical moment of change. It was the end of an old world of medieval belief and, the beginning of a new era that heralded 'the Renaissance'.

The cataclysm that erupted in Northern Europe at this point was the Reformation. The Catholic church, until this time unrivalled head over not just the spiritual, but also the temporal world was beginning to feel its power threatened. This resulted from serious scandals that had arisen over the sale of indulgences, secular intervention in the election of Bishops, and financial corruption brought about by the indulgences of papal extravagance, specifically with regard to the rebuilding of St. Peter's basilica. Pope Julius the second selected Donato Bramante's grandiose plans which were destined to remain unfulfilled "The enormous building swallowed up so much money that in trying to raise sufficient funds the Pope precipitated the crisis which led to the Reformation." (Gombrich p.121 1909)The sale of indulgences by the holy See was a vain attempt to avert financial catastrophe. The purchase of indulgences by the faithful was intended to remit sins and ensure a place in heaven. By means of such donations, confession, repentance and the intervention of saints, the church attempted to allay the fears of sinners, and balance the books. Martin Luther, a monk engaged in the translation of the Bible into German became increasingly convinced of the error and venality of the church. In 1517 he nailed his ninety-five objections listing his grievances to the door of the Schosskirche in Wittenberg. The church would never be the same. Luther's reforms fought against many time - honoured beliefs. He cast aside the hierarchy of saints/mediators and placed responsibility squarely on the individual. "Luther's reform fought against this hierarchy of mediators. It transferred the whole responsibility to the

individual man, deprived him of all assurances and consolations and left him with only his belief in God's mercy."(Waetzolt p.164 1880)

Although Durer's work was concurrent with the Reformation, he remained a faithful Roman Catholic believer. Durer admired Luther's zeal, calling him "a God minded man" (Waetzoltp.164 1880)The two never actually met face to face, but Durer had the deepest regard for Luther. In a letter written to Georg Spalatin in 1520, Durer sends his thanks to the elector of Saxony for sending him some of Luther's writings and goes on to say, ".And with God's help, I will come to Martin Luther, and I will counterfeit him with diligence and engrave him in copper, as a lasting memorial of that Christian man who has helped me to overcome great fears.(Waetzolt p.164 1880)

It is unclear how Luther felt about Durer but when Durer sent him a gift of woodcuts and engravings, Luther wrote, "Concerning Durer, it seems to us fitting that we should think that he is a very pious man, but you may deem him fortunate that Christ has illuminated him and taken good an hour out of these stormy times which will soon become stormier, so that he who was worthy to see only the best may not be compelled to witness the worst. May he rest in peace."(Waetzolt p.164 1880) Durer was not by nature a rebellious man, although he revered Luther, as a cleanser of the church. His own beliefs and the subjects he chose were predicated upon the concepts of the medieval church.

. While Durer was a child of his own time, his subjects were drawn from the panoply of Chistian belief to which the preceding centuries had contributed. He had a number of themes to which he returned repeatedly. The life of Christ attracted him especially. The fact that many of these works were prints and not paintings indicated that they were born from his own interest in the subject. The affordability of producing a folio

collection freed Durer from the necessity of finding a patron who would surely have been a force to be reckoned with in the choice of the subject matter.

When Durer was a boy of thirteen years of age, he made his first study of the Virgin Mary. He subsequently made studies of her in every possible medium, drawings, paintings, woodprints and copper engravings. He immersed himself in his subject. He preferred to depict the life of the Virgin as a real woman , displaying a woman's maternal instincts. In a copperplate engraving executed in 1497, The Penitence of St. Chrysostom he depicts the Virgin suckling her child. He sought to depict religious images in the most realistic way possible, sometimes to extremes, so that anyone could understand and relate to them in a most human way.

> Some of the scenes represented in the small Passion but absent from the engraved series, such as the mocking of Christ, the nailing to the cross of Christ before Annas, show a similar emphasis on torture and brutality, and the decent from the cross verges on the horrible…In woodcuts, however , we find a feeling of tenderness and human warmth which is absent from the engraved passion…(Panofsky p.59 1968)

Durer thought he had a 'calling' to serve God by transcending the tribulations of life, overcoming them with willpower and bravery. The Agony in the Garden was one of his favourite biblical scenes. He would repeatedly return to this scene, evocative of deep human emotion, where Christ pleads with his father that the fate that awaited him could somehow be averted.

> The history of the religious element in Durer's art is like a repetition of mankind. The origin of all religion is man's fear of the elementary powers and Durer's first religious cycle the Apocalypse was born from the fear prevalent at the time, of the end of the world and the imminence of the 'Last Judgement Day'. (Waetzoltp.106 1880)

PART 2

Exploration of Durer's study of, The Book of Revelation, in relation to three examples from his Apocalypse. Concluding with an overview of Durer's style.

Political, social and religious conditions helped form Durer's decision to turn his attention to the Apocalypse, and in 1498 he published two editions: one in German and the other in Latin. The theme was taken from The Book of Revelations, the last book in the Greek New Testament scriptures. John the last surviving apostle wrote the prophecey known as the Apocalypse or The Book of Revelations, while on the penal island of Patmos in the late first century.

The Book of Revelations forms a series of visions, in which Jesus appears to John, is escorted to heaven, into the presence of God, and is presented with an astonishing sequence of images or visions, which describe,- according to John's angelic attendant, events which will occur at the end of the world. Some of the visions are of heavenly scenes, some of earthly. A cast of thousands upon thousands, literally, 'myriad's' are involved.

The imagery used is symbolic and fantastical. Such extraordinary scenes were particularly suited to Durer's talent, chosen medium and natural inclination. He could give full play to his love of elaborate detail, exquisite fine line engraving, profound religious feeling, and. in many plates, his enjoyment of the grotesque. and macabre. A simplified plot-line of the Apocalypse consists of Jesus, the 'Lamb of God' opening a sealed scroll in the presence of his father, four heavenly 'beasts', twenty four elders, and myriads of angels. The scroll when opened reveals in sequence, events on the earth leading up to the end of the world. Judgement is passed on the 'great and small ones' in

the human population . Plagues, wars and famine stalk the Earth , false religion is destroyed, Michael the archangel does battle with Satan the Devil, and is victorious. Satan is cast down to the Earth, and is eventually incarcerated in a prison –like "abyss". Now, the transformation occurs, the effects of old age and sickness are reversed, righteous people inhabit an earth made new, even the dead are resurrected. In place of destructive human governments, authority is vested in the heavenly city (referred to as New Jerusalem) from which blessings flow eternally for the 'happy ones' enjoying everlasting life in blissful conditions. As recorded in the Apocalypse the full account is broken into sixteen visions.(see appendix 1).

The social and religious upheavals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had seemed to the medieval mind to conform to the prophetic images contained in The Book of Revelations.

> Visions of destruction and salvation threw tormented mankind from one frenzy to another. And the over heated fantasy of the late meddle ages enriched these Apocalyptic and Chiliastic visions with every imaginable kind of figurative imagery"(Waetzolt p.30 1880)

Dürer's interest in the subject is indicated by the fact that he was not commissioned to create the series, but initiated it himself, freed from the constraints worked in woodcut and printed his work to make it accessible to those who would not have been able to afford them in unique form. Other publications of scriptural matter have appeared earlier in the century but his was the earliest book designed and published by an artist as exclusively as his own undertaking.

The usual layout for this type of publication would have been to print the text with the illustrations dispersed throughout, as exemplified by the Paris publication of the Apocalypse. "In the Paris manuscript the text is not only abbreviated but so arranged

that each chapter faces the corresponding illustration and forms a kind of text-picture unit."(Panofsky p.55 1968) Dürer did not want this layout applied to his publication. He wanted to print the text and then the illustrations in two separate units, so that each one could be appreciated without distraction.

Dürer broke the sixteen visions into fifteen woodprints (see appendix 2). Out of these fifteen woodcuts we may take three as exemplifying the unique approach taken by Dürer. The Summons to Heaven, The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse and The Whore of Babylon. In each case the salient verses from The Book of Revelations will be taken individually, together with a commentary on the print in question, thus demonstrating the close reliance of the artist on the primary text, his painstaking determination to portray accurately the sacred scriptures, and his marvellous facility with his chosen medium.

The Summons to Heaven

The Summons to Heaven (see fig2) is a supremely fine example of how Dürer handles a vision- that is to say he shows both heaven and earth, both in exquisite detail, on the same plate. We understand exactly what is going on, and grasp the majestic scene with its many significant elements while keeping, as it were, our feet on the ground.

After John's introduction, by an angel to the resurrected Christ, he is brought "in the spirit", into the actual courts of heaven. Dürer attempts to fit all the details of the second vision into one plate of transcendent beauty and majesty as befits a description of the throne of God.

(fig 2) The Summons to Heaven

> After these things I saw and look 'an opened door in heaven' and the first voice that I heard was a trumpet, speaking with me saying: "come on up here and I must shall show you the things that must take place." (Revelation (4-1-5:14)

John is privileged to enter "the realms above" through an opened door. Dürer's door is a fine, solid Gothic model, its twin doors opening symmetrically to allow the viewer an image of the Divine. "A throne was in position in heaven and there is one seated upon the throne"(Revelation 4:2)

The appearance of almighty God is not described in human terms, but as being 'like a jasper stone, and a red coloured stone and around him a rainbow like an emerald.' (Revelations 4:3) The rainbow shown by Dürer, as radiating bands of hatched lines, recalls the rainbow covenant established by God with Noah, after the subsidence of the flood waters. This signifies peace and reconciliation between God and men.

Shown encircling the throne Dürer has depicted the Evangelist, John, in profile to the front and banked on either side the full complement of the twenty four elders, each one different and at various angles, even their crowns (as befits the meticulous artist son of a master goldsmith) show wonderful variety.

> And round the throne, there are twenty-four thrones, and upon these thrones I saw seated twenty-four elders dressed in white outer garments and upon their heads, golden crowns. (Revelation 4:4)

Sharp, sail-shaped flame- like forms protrude from behind the twenty-four elders, and also around the base of the heavenly scene. They and the clouds, complete with human face's, depict the winds of heaven, neatly separating the vision from the tranquil earthly scene below. Above the head of Almighty God, forming a semi-circle in the rainbow appear seven lamps surmounted by flames. The flame-like shapes represent lightning and thunder, the lamps or "seven spirits of God" recall the Menorah or seven-branched

candlesticks used in the ancient Temple of Solomon's day, which itself was considered by the Jewish scholars to be a miniature earthly pattern of the Heavenly abode where God resides. The number seven symbolises divine completeness, or full enlightenment of the Holy Spirit.

> And out of the throne there are proceeding lightenings and voices and thunders. And there are seven lamps of fire turning before the throne and these mean the seven spirits of God.. (Revelation 4:5:6)

Close up to the throne of God and equidistant from it appear four strange creatures, covered with eyes. The prophets also describe such creatures in close proximity to the throne of God, and referred to them as cherubs. (Ezekial: 1:10) Their appearance is distinctive. One is like a lion, signifying courage and justice. The second is like a bull, symbolising power, the third is an eagle denoting far-sighted wisdom, and the fourth with a face "like a mans" is a symbol of Godly love, man alone, according to Genesis, being formed, in Gods image. Each living creature is a perfect model of Durer's art. Each feather of each of their six wings is perfectly delineated, each anatomical feature adding to the marvellous richness of the image. And I saw in the right hand of the one seated upon the throne, a scroll written within and on the reverse side, sealed tight with seven seals.

> And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice: - "Who is worthy to open the scroll and loose its seals?" But neither in Heaven nor upon earth, nor underneath the earth was there a single one able to open the scroll or look into it. And I gave way to a great deal of weeping, because no one was found worthy to open the scroll or look into it. (Revelation 1:4)

Durer delicately indicates a private conversation taking place between the

apostle (kneeling centre) and the first of the crowned elders to his left. Each has a hand extended towards the other in a questioning manner. The apostle's face appears downcast. A large scroll (more a heavy volume in this case) rests on the Almighty's knees, seven large seals hanging from one side of it. God's left hand rests on the scroll. God seems to be holding the scroll or "the little book" out to one who can open it, but none in heaven or earth is worthy to open or accept it. John's distress is caused by the possibility that he will not after all learn the things that must take place.

But, we see the crowned elder to the left of John turn to him with good news, there is one who is worthy of opening the scroll.

> But one of the elders says to me stop weeping, look. The lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, has conquered so as to open the scroll and its seven seals. And I saw standing in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures and in the midst of the elders, a lamb as though it had been slaughtered, having seven horns and seven eyes. (Revelation 5:5,6)

The resurrected Christ is shown in the persona of The Lamb of God, unblemished by sin, and acceptable as a sacrifice. Dürer shows no wound "as though slaughtered," at least none are readily visible. The Lamb has seven horns. Horns in the bible often symbolise power and authority, and the number seven in biblical terms indicates completeness, or fullness. Thus the hour has come for The Lamb to assume authority over the earth. Dürer shows the Lamb in touching intimacy with God, standing on his hind legs with his two small front feet resting on the book that God holds on his lap. The lamb takes the scroll and great rejoicing follows in heaven. This is the climax of the vision, and Dürer has attempted to compress this sequence of events into one intricate image. The twenty-four elders each have a harp and a golden bowl of incense (Dürer does not show the bowls). He does however depict the harps, almost invisibly woven between the rows of elders and their respective thrones.

> And they sing a new song saying you are worthy to take the scroll. And open its seals because you were slaughtered and with your blood you bought persons for God out of every tribe and tongue and people and nation...and every creature that is in heaven and on the earth and on the sea I heard saying "To one sitting on the throne and to the Lamb be the blessing and the honour and the glory and might forever and forever. (Revelation 5: 9)

All heaven joins in a 'new song' of praise for the lamb. By his obedient sacrifice he has paid for the centuries of human imperfection, and now is the moment that all creation has been waiting for. By opening the scroll, he can set in motion the final epic drama that will reverse all sin, sickness and death forever. This then forms the magnificent vision, the centrepiece of all that was precious and full of meaning, not just for Dürer, but for his entire generation. Symbols that for us are archaic and mysterious, were for them pregnant with meaning, and when these figures were represented in Dürer's 'Great book' complete with the full text of the Book of Revelations, it became a revered best seller and one of the permanent cornerstones on which his reputation as a colossus rests.

The Four horsemen of The Apocalypse

The second sample, woodcut no.4 (see appendix 2) is The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (see fig 3) surely one of the most electrifying prints ever produced. To many people this print is the Apocalypse and successfully portrays the fearsome weight of prophetic judgement approaching an unwitting world. At first sight of 'The Four Horsemen', the viewer is struck by the dense mass of intricate detail, so characteristic of Dürer's work. The action- packed print shows the ride of the four horsemen, galloping unstoppable over the bodies of men and women 'the small and the great whose names are not written in the book of life.' Dürer chose to depict all four horsemen in one plate rather than four separate images as was common in previous depictions.

> "And I saw, and look!, a white horse; and a crown was given him, and he went forth conquering and to complete his conquest"(Revelation 6:2)

(fig 3) The Four Horsemen of The Apocalypse

The rider on the first horse is described as 'having a crown given him' thus revealing himself to be Christ the King. The 'Lamb' becomes the resurrected Christ, the new crowned king, going forth to war, at God's appointed time. The hour has come for the final battle between good and evil, and this new king is going to destroy false religion and all attached to it, along with Satan's "works and pomps' and thus complete his conquest.

> And when he opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature say: "Come!." And another came forth, a fiery- coloured horse; and to the one seated upon it there was granted to take peace away from the earth so that they should slaughter one another; and a great sword was given him. (Revelation 6:3,4)

Durer has depicted the second horseman with his arm aloft holding a two edged sword, his grim, lined face indicating the awfullness of his task; to take peace away from the earth. The horseman is not waging righteous warfare like the first horseman, but rather the bloody, painful, suffering, misery-filled wars that Dürer experienced in his own age.Durer had no way of knowing that centuries of bloody warfare lay ahead, leading to the unthinkable reality of a world at war, not once but twice in our own century.

> And when he opened the third seal, I heard the third living creature say: "Come!" and I saw, and look! A black horse; and the one seated upon it had a pair of scales in his hand. And I heard a voice as if in the midst of the four living creatures say: A quart of wheat for a denarius, and three quarts of barley for a denarius and do not harm the olive or the wine. (Revelation 6:5,6)

Dürer gives the third horseman centre stage. He rides a black horse. He carries scales and a voice is heard, "A quart of wheat for a denarius, and 3 quarts of barley for a denarius, and do not harm the olive and the wine."49 Famine and all its attendant horrors follow hard on the heels of war. The daily ration for a Roman soldier, who was expected to grind his own corn and bakes his own bread on campaigns, was a quart of wheat. A denarius represented a day's wage - a whole days work would buy

only one days bread. Three quarts of barley (a lower grade food) was the choice of a poor man with a family.

"Do not harm the olive oil and the wine" has been interpreted by some to indicate that the rich, even in famine times, would preserve their standard of living. Other authorities suggest that as bread, wine and oil were staples in the Middle Eastern ancient world, that the reference is to the careful eking out of supplies lest they run out. Dürer may have leaned toward the former understanding, as his third horseman is large, strong and muscular. His face is set in a cruel rictus and seems to personify a rich aristocratic tyrant. He is finely dressed in elaborate, embroided and fringed garments. His horse is richly comparisoned, with a tooled saddle. The animal itself is a fine beast, with a flowing mane and tail and is in stark contrast to the fourth rider.

> And when he opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth living creature say: "Come!" and I saw, and look!, a pale horse; and the one seated upon it had the name Death. And Hades was closely following him. And authority was given them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with a long sword and with food shortage, and with deadly plague, and by the wild beasts of the earth. (Revelation 6:7,8)

We are left in no doubt as to the identity of this nightmare vision. He appears on a pale horse. The Greek word for pale – khloros - is used to describe the bleached faces of the desperately sick, diseased people. Hades (or the grave) follows him. Dürer shows this by depicting the open mouth of a dragon-like monster into which are disappearing the bishop and the burghers as they fall under the hooves of the fourth rider. How could anyone living in this period of history fail to believe that the deadly plagues pointed to their own time? The Black Death ,as we have seen ,stalked Europe with terrifying speed. Whole villages and towns were virtually exterminated. No wonder men thought it heralded the end of the world. No wonder Dürer chose this for his masterpiece.

<u>The Whore of Babylon</u>

The final sample woodcut no.13 (see appendix 2) is The Whore of Babylon. The awesomely titled Whore, a bizarre and mysterious entity in our day, could almost be an icon or rather an anti-icon for the age of the Reformation. The very name conjures up a society riven by religious difference,each different camp identifying the Whore as representing the opposing, schismatie camp. This plate, though it is a little confusing in scale and layout, illustrating as it does a most important personage in the book of Revelations, deserves close examination.

> And one of the seven angels that had the seven bowls came and spoke with me saying: "Come I will show you the judgement upon the great Harlot who sits on many waters, with whom the Kings of the earth committed fornication, whereas those who inhabit the earth were made drunk with the wine of her fornication..... And I caught sight of a woman sitting upon a scarlet coloured wild beast that was full of blasphemous names and that had seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet, and was adorned with gold and precious stone and pearls, and had in her hand a golden cup that was full with disgusting things and the unclean things of her fornication. And upon her forehead was written a name, a mystery: Babylon the great, the mother of the Harlots and of disgusting things of the earth.(Revelation 7;1;6)

The Book of Revelation goes on to describe in graphic detail the depth of depravity of the Harlot. She is seated on "many waters, which the text itself explains "peoples and the crowds and the nations and the tongues." She believes that her power and influence will never leave her, I sit a queen, I am no widow and will never see morning." She is described as having " committed fornication" with the Kings of the earth, and has thus maintained her position in the world . Men and nations are described as becoming "drunk with the wine of her fornication." Down through the centuries, scholars have sought an identity for this woman, who seems to personify all the abhorrent In Dürer's time, especially as the reformation became an ever more powerful influence, the prevailing understanding among reformers was that this terrifying women represented the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic Church maintained that she represented

(fig 4) The Whore of Babylon

Imperial Rome. What did Dürer believe? We know that on the one hand he was a great admirer of Luther, but on the other, seems to have remained a devout and even pious Catholic so perhaps he was, as many have been since, undecided.

The nightmare scenario describing the Whore, would seem to be ideal material for Durer, with his prediliction for the macabre and grotesque. The plate is a rich and rewarding example of Durer's fertile imagination and marvellous drawing skills The composition has a strong diagonal line from the top left to the bottom right with scenes crowding each section and no element ignored. Dürer shows an interesting mixture of worldly rulers in the bottom left section of the print, who are indeed on the earth, as we see from the grass, stones, and carefully drawn foliage around their feet, and tall fox glove like plants that act as a divider between the physical earth and the powerful symbolic spiritualistic force which controls it. The central ruler is daringly turned completely away from the viewer, affording us on unimpeded view of his magnificent attire. He wears a full and richly gathered mantle, trimmed in ermine and with a large ermine collar draped about the neck with a golden chain and ceremonial ornament. His turban/headress is decorated with swathed fabric and cut out motifs. Behind him are gathered a colourful throng, diminishing from view, of men and women, all richly dressed, above their heads, dancing plumes and a ceremonial halberd appear. One dignitary kneels indicating the awe and admiration felt by all for this frightful and monstrous apparition. To the right foreground the Harlot herself appears, complete with all her dreadful appurtenances; her nightmare steed, her luxurious and priceless apparel, her macabre goblet with its unspeakable contents.

Her glamorous courtesans outfit is an 'off the shoulder' number with a long train, which she has gathered in one hand to allow her to sit side – saddle on the beast, whose seven heads loom above the admiring crowd. Each head, one more fantastical then the other

exhibit bird, beast and serpent characteristics, and in the medieval manner are here used to indicate the seven deadly sins of pride, convtousness, lust, anger, gluttony, envy and sloth. Nemesis looms for the Harlot, in the shape of the host of heaven, led by the Lord of the Lords, and the King of the Kings, coming in the clouds of heaven to bring an end to the lethally poisonous reign of the Harlot and her earthly paramours.

Reading a little further in the text of Revelation we see the gruesome outcome for the Harlot, and this lends the print a feeling of suspended animation; only seconds, it seems, remain between the scene illustrated and her grisly end. The ten- horned beast she has controlled by unclean means for millennia will turn on her; "and hate her, and will eat up her fleshy parts and completely burn her with fire." This is seen as a righteous judgement, since "God has put it into their hearts." Durer has chosen to depict the moment, the last, as it were, where all that is wrong and evil seem to be in the ascendant, yet where all that is good, and righteous, and permanent are about to prevail, held in a tableau frozen of tension. The lines of his wonderful drawing, only partly account for its force. Without question "the noblest and most essential element in his character, the religious urge" found its ideal expression in this and the companion plates of The Apocalypse.

Durer's style

Durer's learned a variation of engraving, while "an apprentice in the paternal goldsmiths workshop. There, he had to work clearly and delicately with silver point, engraving with a steady hand line after line on the tough metal." (Panofsky p.61 1968) This experience may have been a forceful reason for Dürer's long love affair with the art of the woodcut. Dürer served his apprenticeship in the Wolgemut Workshop in Nuremburg. It was here in 1486 that he was introduced to an innovative, cost effective

and impressive way of reproducing illustrations. "Durer's most fundamental experience during his years with Wolgemut was his initiation into a field quite new to him,and one in which Wolgemut achieved lasting distinction: the making of woodcuts."(Panofsky18 1968) In early woodcuts, large areas of wood were left to be printed as the black areas and equally large amounts of wood were gouged out, printing as the white areas. Panofsky defines a woodcut as "a relief print" and goes on to describe the process,

> A block of wood, sawed along the grain, is covered with a white ground on which the composition can be drawn in ink. Then the block is 'cut' in such a way that wood is removed on either side of what is intended to appear as a dark line in the impression. It is to the remaining crests or ridges that the ink is applied in order to be transferred to the paper. Woodcut lines have thus a minimum width beyond which the crests or ridges cannot be narrowed without breaking, and they are separated by intervals which cannot be diminished indefinitely.(Panofsky p.44 1968)

The earliest woodcuts from the first quarter of the fifteenth century proved to be quite crude and basic. An example of one such image is the illustration mentioned in chapter 1, The Dance of The Dead which was published in the Nuremberg Chronicle to illustrate the suffering caused by the Black Death. It shows skeleton figures in stark surroundings, with little or no detail. Such images appeared simple and graphic, without realistic dimensions or perspective. It became the norm to use them as conveying an idea as with the above mentioned example. "Cheap and adaptable, mostly simplified replicas of paintings, miniatures and even sculptures-were tacked to walls, pasted on furniture, boxes and book covers, or mounted on panels so as to serve as small, inexpensive icons or altarpieces."(Panofsky p.44 1968) In an attempt to depict the missing perspective in these woodcuts, areas of gouche were applied to the image after it had been printed. With the invention of the printing press, it became possible to make woodcuts with considerably more detail, which meant the woodcut could take on its

own identity without the help of another medium. "The really important step was taken when the impressions ceased to be made by hand and the use of presses set in; this permitted the development of linear patterns so dense and intricate that would have been hopelessly blurred if printed by hand."(Panofsky p.63 1968) The heavy consistent pressure meant that the ink penetrated equally all areas of the paper, even heavily-worked areas Dürer took full advantage of this invention and it is his series The Apocalypse that his unique technical draughtsmanship came to a peak of perfection.

> Light, shade, splendour, eminences, and depression: though derived from the position of one single thing, more that one aspect offers itself to the eye of the beholder. He observes accurately proportions and harmonies. Nay, he even depicts that which cannot be depicted: Fire, rays of light, thunder, sheet lightning, lightnings or as they say clouds. On a wall; all the sensations and emotions; in fine the whole mind of man as it reflects itself in the behaviour of the body; and almost the voice itself. (Panofsky p.45 1968)

Dürer had undoubtedly been affected by the art that was coming out of Italy, the new ways of depicting perspective, and the more realistic manner in which the figure was represented. In relation to an engraving in which Durer made in 1504 called The Nativity , Gombrich asserts, "In engravings like this, Durer seemed to have summed up and brought to perfection the development of the Gothic art, since it had turned towards the imitation of nature. But at the same time, his mind was busy grappling with the new aims given to art by the Italian artists"(Gombrich p.55 1909). He saw the woodcut as the vehicle for indulgence in pure drawing. He seldom left large areas of black or white in his prints. Dürer's highly linear style became his trademark.

The work of Dürer as an engraver and woodcut artist was admired by all his contemporaries and his reputation has not lost its lustre, down to our own time. His

excellence as a draughtsman was given another dimension by his skill with printmaking tools. Erasmus of Rotterdam in his dialogue De Recta Latini Graecique Sermous pronuntiatione eulogised Dürer as achieving more with black lines than other artists had achieved with colour. He argued "What does he not express in monochromes, that is, in black lines?" (Panofsky .p.43 1968)

Dürer had more than one reason to concentrate on graphic printmaking ; in addition to his obvious immense talent he was motivated by simple economics. He maintained he would have been "richer by a thousand guilders."(Panofsky p.43 1968) if he had concentrated on engraving. But more importantly, he felt that printmaking, his first natural medium of expression, assisted him in achieving what he felt was important for any artist who would be great – the need to be original. In this, Dürer took another step away from the conventions of the Middle Ages. It was normal and acceptable for a medieval artist to work within the forms and conventions of the old masters. To make copies and base work on highly esteemed earlier masterpieces was considered a proper course, helping to preserve standards that had been worked up over the proceeding centuries.

Dürer, no doubt influenced by the Italians, believed that a great artist should break new ground, with his own design invention, and indeed should go straight to nature and observe at first hand in careful studies that which had not been subjected to such first-hand examination for a long- time, if at all. In Dürer's case, the seeking for novelty became a life long interest, almost an obsession, and he delightedly recorded in loving detail each small new acquisition he made or received in the way of shells, plants, stones, fossils, or skeletons of insects or animals. He drew many wonderful animal studies from direct observation, and his trip to the Northern Coast to see the decaying

whale that had been washed ashore, led to his becoming ill with the malady that eventually killed him.

Large paintings had to be commissioned, requiring a wealthy customer whereas Dürer's original drawings, transformed into prints, could become affordable art to many buyers, allowing the artist to explore his own artistic inventions with much greater freedom. He could choose sections of scripture or aspects of the life of Christ or the Virgin that appealed to him and reproduce them. Even his great Apocalypse was chosen by himself, as it was so suited to the medium he used, and was a subject so close to his own heart.

In the early years, Dürer had done his own cutting of wood-blocks, but after his Italian journeys, with many commissions and projects demanding his time, much of the actual cutting was carried out by others –many in his own workshops. They had been trained by him, and in any case the style Dürer had made famous, eventually became the recognised German method.The style, which became known as the 'Dürer style', appeared in all the large- scale prints from 1496, printed from blocks 15 inches by 11 and a half inches including the great Apocalypse series. Previous to Dürer, printmakers in Germany used a technique consisting of an engraved woodcut which used two main kinds of line the descriptive line and the optical line. The descriptive line was mainly an outline or contour drawing, which served to define the forms, and the optical lines were hatchings of various kinds which contributed to the effects of light, texture and shade. The lines in both cases had been of almost equal thickness, thus when both were used on the same block, a confused impression was created, without any real structure or realistic texture emerging from the mass of lines.

Dürer treated the woodcut lines as though they had been created by a burin on a copperplate engraving. They began to swell and shrink, in a plastic, organic way. They

were found to be able to curve and taper in a softly suggestive way that allowed for an expressive modelling of the images.

> The woodcut medium became an adequate vehicle for the dynamic tendencies of the Italian Renaissance, where all things whether alive or inanimate, were interpreted as organic entities molded and stirred by inherent forces ...Durer had to renounce, of course, the aspiration for pictorial effects. But the very principle which prevented his woodcuts from attaining illusion endowed them, almost paradoxically with new and powerful chiaroscuro values....Every black line, in addition to being "black" and to indicating form and volume, came to signify "darkness" and the blank paper came according to signify "light". (Panofsky p.48 1968)

This stunning use of Chiaroscuro gave the new large prints a brilliance and power that was especially suited to non-realistic scenes. Dürer understood perfectly how to best exploit his favoured medium. His chosen images leaned heavily towards the fantastic and the visionary. Out of the many woodcuts produced by Dürer under his famous signature monogram, only three were of secular subjects. Between the years 1495 and 1500 Dürer produced a dozen paintings, more than 25 engravings, seven large single woodcuts much of the Large Passion, and the whole Apocalypse series. These works were the beginning of a marriage between the German traditions and the Mantegna's 'maniera antica' of Italy, and laid the basis for the Northern Renaissance. As such, Albrecht Dürer, with one foot in the middle ages and the other in the Renaissance, took a quantum leap from an age that had lasted for almost five hundred years into another whose effects lasted until our own century.

Conclusion

It is clear that Durer must have immersed himself in the scriptures to produce his Apocalypse. He took on board the fears of a society that looked to the Bible for timeless words of wisdom to live by. Panofsky whose biography of Durer remains the definitive study, asserts,

> Like Leonardo's Last Supper, Durer's Apocalypse belongs among what may be called the inescapable works of art. Summarizing, yet surpassing an age-old tradition, these works command an authority, which no later artist could or can improve, except perhaps by way of a deliberate opposition which in itself is another form of dependence.(Panofsky p.59 1968)

The combination of Durer's use of traditional subject matter and a new innovative technique together with unquestioned artistic genius, resulted in an enduring contribution to the advances of art history.

APPENDIX 1

Summary of the sixteen visions of the book of Revelations.

1st vision;(1-10-3-22) John sees by inspiration the glorified Jesus who sends warm messages of counsel to the seven congregations. .

2nd vision;(4:1-5:14)A magnificent view of the heavenly throne of God. This one hands a scroll to the Lamb.

3rd vision;(6:1-17) Breaking open the first six seals of the scroll,the Lamb progressively reveals a composite vision of the Lord day.

4th vision;(7:1-17)Angels hold back the winds of destruction until the 144,000 of spiritual Israel are sealed. A great crowd out of all nations attribute salvation to God and Christ and are gathered for survival through the great tribulation.

5th vision;(8:1-9:21)At the opening of the seventh seal, there are seven trumpet blasts, the first six of which comprise the fifth vision. These six trumpets also introduce the first and second woes.

6th vision;(10:1-11:19)A strong angel gives John a little scroll, the temple is measured, and we learn the experiences of the two witnesses. It climaxes with the blowing of the seventh trumpet which heralds the third woe for the Gods enemies-the incoming kingdom of God and his Christ.

7th vision;(12:1-17) This describes the birth of the kingdom, resulting in Michael's hurling the serpent, Satan, down to the earth.

8th vision;(13:1-18) The powerful wild beast comes out of the sea, and the beast with two horns like a lamb urges mankind to worship it.

9th vision;(14:1-20) A splendid for view of the 144,000 on Mount Zion. Angelic messages are heard through out the earth; the vine of the earth is reaped, and the winepress of the Gods anger is trodden.

10th vision;(15:1-16:21) Another glimpse of the heavenly court, followed by the pouring of the seven bowls of Gods anger into the earth. This section too, ends with a prophetic description of the end of Satan's system.

11th vision;(17:1-18) The great harlot of Babylon, rides a scarlet-coloured wild beast, which goes briefly into the abyss but comes forth again and devastates her.

12th vision;(18:1-19:10) The fall and final destruction of Babylon The Great are announced. After her execution, some mourn, others praise God: the marriage of the Lamb's announced.

13th vision;(19:11-21) Jesus leads the armies of heaven to execute God's wrathful judgement on Satan's system, its armies and its supporters; carrion birds feast on their corpses.

14th vision;(20:1-10) The abyssing of Satan the Devil the thousand year reign of Christ and his fellow kings mankind's final test and the destruction of Satan and his demons.

15th vision;(20:11-21:5) The general resurrection and the Great Judgement Day: A new heaven and new earth appear with eternal blessings for the righteous mankind.

16th vision;(21:9-22:5) Revelation is climaxed with a glorious vision of new Jerusalem. The marriage takes place in heaven . God's provision of healing and life for mankind flows from the Holy city.

APPENDIX 2

The fifteen woodcuts of the Apocalypse

No.1. Martydom Of St. John.

No.2 The Seven Lamps Of Fire.

No.3 The Summons To Heaven.

No.4 The Four Horsemen Of The Apocalypse.

No.5 The End Of The World.

No.6 The Angels Holding The Winds.

No.7 The Song Of Praise.

No.8 The Angels With The Trumpets.

No.9 Battle Of The Angels.

No.10 St. John Eats Up The Book.

No.11 The Woman Clothed With The Sun.

No.12 The Beast With Two Horns Like a Lamb.

No.13 The Whore Of Babylon.

No.14 St. Michael And The Dragon.

No.15 The Key To The Bottomless Pit.

Bibliography

1. M. Bloch; Fuedal Society (1961).

2 Kenneth Clark, Civilisation, Warwick Shire, Jolly and Barber Ltd. 1969

3. Molly Lodge, Gen. Ed. Medieval Times. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1981.

4. E.H Gombrich, The Story of Arts; London Phaidon Press.

5. H.R. Lyon, Gen. Ed. The Middle Ages. London Thames and Hudson 1989.

6 Derek Turner, The Black Death. New York, Thames and Hudson 1978

7 John Kenneth, Galbraith, The Anatomy of Power, London, Hamish Hamiliton, 1984.

8 E.Panofsky, Albrecht Durer, Vol1 and 2,New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1968

9 Derek Turner, The Black Death. New York, Thames and Hudson 1978

10 Alistair Smith and Angela Ottino della Chiesa, Durer, The Complete Paintings. London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson 1968.

11. Wilhelm Waetzolt, Durer. London, Phaidon Press. Ltd. Mcml.1880

12 Consulting Ed. Herbert Read, Encyclopaedia of The Arts, London, Thames and Hudson, 1966

13 The Holy Bible, New world Bible Translation Committee, International Bible Students Association New York 1984